

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: ALLIES REACH AD REFERENDUM AGREEMENT ON COMMON

APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: A) STATE 198013; B) STATE 198199; C) STATE 198200 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: AS A RESULT OF OCTOBER 5 MORNING AND AFTERNOON NAC SESSIONS AND SENIOR POLADS MEETING, ALLIES REACHED AD REFERENDUM AGREEMENT ON MBFR APPROACH. IN RESPONSE TO U.S. APPROACH ON SEVERAL REMAINING ISSUES (REFTELS), ALLIES AGREED TO DROP BRACKETS THROUGHOUT ENTIRE, FIVE-SECTION DOCUMENT, "ALLIANCE APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS ON MBFR." ONE PARAGRAPH (ON GEOGRAPHICAL APPLICATION OF CONSTRAINTS) REMAINS BRACKETED, BUT ALLIES REACTED
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FAVORABLY TO LAST-MINUTE FORMULATION WHICH AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD SUGGESTED ON AN AD REF BASIS. ALLIES HAMMERED OUT COMPROMISE PARAGRAPHS ON PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES AND STUDY OF CONTINGENCY MEASURES FOR THE FLANKS.

MISSION IS TRANSMITTING TO WASHINGTON FULL TEXT OF BASIC DOCUMENT (CM(73)83) WHICH SPC AND NAC REVISED ON OCTOBER 5, AND IS SENDING TO WASHINGTON AND APPROPRIATE POSTS TEXT OF CHANGES WHICH SPC MADE IN BASIC DOCUMENT DURING COURSE OF OCTOBER 5 DISCUSSIONS. NAC WILL MEET AGAIN ON PAPER ON OCTOBER 8, SINCE SEVERAL DELEGATIONS ACCEPTED CHANGES IN TEXT ON AN AD REFERENDUM BASIS. ACTION REQUESTED: INSTRUCTIONS BY OCTOBER 8 ON AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD'S AD REF FORMULATION FOR PARA 6, AND ON ANY OTHER WASHINGTON REACTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. COUNCIL MET ON MORNING OF OCTOBER 5 TO CONSIDER FIVE-SECTION PAPER PREPARED BY SPC ON "ALLIANCE APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS ON MBFR" (CM(73)83). IN VIEW OF EXTENSIVE GUIDANCE FROM WASHINGTON (REFTELS), AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD SUGGESTED THAT SENIOR POLADS CONVENE IMMEDIATELY TO MAKE FURTHER EFFORT TOWARDS AN AGREED TEXT. HE HOPED THAT COUNCIL WOULD BE ABLE TO HAND OVER AN AGREED ALLIANCE POSITION TO AD HOC GROUP MEETING IN BRUSSELS ON OCTOBER 9-12. HE SUGGESTED THAT COUNCIL RE-CONVENE IN THE LATE AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 5 TO REVIEW PROGRESS MADE BY SPC. SPC CONVENED PROMPTLY AND CONDUCTED A REVIEW OF ALL UNRESOLVED ISSUES IN CM(73)83. PRINCIPAL RESULTS OF THAT REVIEW DESCRIBED BELOW. SEE SEPTEL FOR FULL TEXT OF "CORRIGENDUM" WHICH SPC MADE TO TEXT.

2. AREA OF APPLICATION OF COLLATERAL MEASURES. SPC EVENTUALLY REACHED AGREEMENT TO A TEXT ON PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES (PARA 23). DIFFICULTY IN FINDING AGREED FORMULATION ON POSSIBILITY OF APPLYING SUCH MEASURES TO FORCES OUTSIDE OF THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA COMPLICATED BY GREEK LAST-HOUR ADDITION OF COMPLEX NEW PRE-REDUCTION MEASURE CALLING FOR STABILIZING MEASURES IN THE AREA SOUTH OF THE 50TH PARALLEL. U.S. SUCCEEDED IN GETTING THIS PROPOSAL TRANSFERRED TO LESS PRESSING PARAGRAPH (PARA 30) ON STUDY OF MEASURES OUTSIDE NGA. RESULTING PARAGRAPH IS BALANCE BETWEEN U.S. INTERESTS IN PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES "APPLICABLE IN" AND "FOCUSING ON" NGA, AND STRONG FRG DESIRE, SUPPORTED BY ALL OTEHR ALLIES, TO AVOID REINFORCING IMPRESSION OF SECRET

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A SPECIAL ZONE. ON BASIS OF U.S. ARGUMENT THAT ALL THE SPECIFIC MEASURES IN THIS PARAGRAPH ARE "SUBJECT TO FURTHER URGENT EXAMINATION," AND THUS NOT YET FULLY AGREED, FRG AGREED TO DROP BRACKETS AROUND "LIMITS ON SIZE, LOCATIONS, NUMBER AND DURATION OF MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES IN THE AREA." ON BASIS OF SAME RATIONALE, ALLIES AGREED TO DROP BRACKETS (IN PARA 29) AROUND "LIMITATIONS ON MOVEMENTS OF FORCES ACROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES WITHIN THE AREA." ON SAME BASIS, FRG PROPOSAL FOR VERIFICATION MEASURES OUTSIDE NGA (PARA 33(C)) UN-BRACKETED, BUT ADDED TO LIST OF OTHER MEASURES TO BE STUDIED WHICH COULD APPLY OUTSIDE OF NGA (PARA 30).

3. DESPITE ACHIEVEMENT OF DELICATE COMPROMISE ON PARA 23, SPC WAS UNABLE TO REACH AGREED FORMULATION ON A BASIC PRINCIPLE

IN THE SECRET GUIDELINES SECTION ON GEOGRAPHIC APPLICATION OF CONSTRAINTS (PARA 6). SPC PRODUCED THREE ALTERNATIVE VERSIONS (SEE "CORRIGENDUM" TEXT) BUT COULD NOT STRIKE THE RIGHT BALANCE BETWEEN FRG, U.S. AND TURKISH POSITIONS. WHEN SPC COMPLETED ITS DISCUSSION, PARA 6 WAS THE ONLY TEXT REMAINING IN BRACKETS. AFTER SPC MEETING AND PRIOR TO LATE AFTERNOON NAC MEETING, U.S., FRG, TURKISH AND DUTCH REPS CONSIDERED PRIVATELY FURTHER POSSIBLE COMPROMISE FORMULATION SUGGESTED BY U.S. (BASED UPON STATE 198199). IN VIEW OF THEIR POSITIVE RESPONSE, AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD AT RE-CONVENED NAC MEETING, SUGGESTED THAT TO BREAK DEADLOCK ON REMAINING BRACKETED PARAGRAPH, ALLIES CONSIDER FOLLOWING TEXT, WHICH HE PUT FORWARD STRICTLY ON A PERSONAL AND AD REFERENDUM BASIS: "WHILE RELATED MEASURES AGREED IN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD FOCUS ON FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, THE GEOGRAPHICAL APPLICATION OF SUCH MEASURES MIGHT NOT BE THE SAME AS THAT OF REDUCTION AGREEMENTS." TURKISH PERMREP ERALP SAID HE COULD ACCEPT THIS TEXT WITH THE ADDITION OF A PHRASE "BEARING IN MIND PARAGRAPH 17 BELOW." (PARA 17 ALLOWS ANY ALLIED FLANK COUNTRY TO AVOID ITS INCLUSION IN RESTRICTIONS CONNECTED WITH A REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT, AND THUS PRESERVES TURKISH RIGHT NOT TO ACCEPT ANY CONSTRAINTS ON TURKISH FORCES.) BELGIAN, UK AND DUTCH REPS REACTED AFFIRMATIVELY TO RUMSFELD'S SUGGESTION AND, TOGETHER WITH THE U.S., FOUND NO DIFFICULTY WITH ERALP'S ADDITION. (COMMENT: ALTHOUGH FRG DID NOT RESPOND IN THE NAC, (BECAUSE OF CURRENT SENSITIVITIES IN BONN ON THIS ISSUE), FRG DELOFFS TOLD US AFTER THE NAC MEETING THAT THIS FORMULATION WAS DISTINCT IMPROVEMENT OVER OTHER ALTERNATIVES AND MIGHT BE WELL RECEIVED IN BONN. END COMMENT)

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4. STUDY OF MEASURES OUTSIDE NGA (PARA 30). TURKISH, NORWEGIAN AND GREEK REPS UNABLE TO ACCEPT CHANGE IN TURKISH FORMULATION. U.S. REP STRONGLY REITERATED U.S. VIEW THAT OUR AGREEMENT TO STUDY SUCH MEASURES DOES NOT COMMIT US TO THE MEASURES LISTED IN THIS PARAGRAPH OR TO PUTTING THEM FORWARD IN NEGOTIATION. PER STATE 196124, HE THEN ACCEPTED TURKISH FORMULATION. IN RESPONSE TO U.S. STATEMENT, TURKISH REP DROPPED TURKISH BRACKETS THROUGHOUT PAPER. (COMMENT: AS A RESULT OF REPEATED STATEMENTS BY U.S. REPS IN SUCCESSIVE SPC MEETINGS, MISSION CONSIDERS THAT U.S. POSITION ON THIS ISSUE IS CLEAR TO ALL ALLIES. RUMSFELD REFRAINED FROM REPEATING THIS STATEMENT IN THE NAC, BECAUSE OF CONCERN THAT THIS WOULD LEAD TO A WHOLE SERIES OF STATED RESERVATIONS BY OTHER PERMREPS, ON VARIOUS ISSUES WHICH COULD IN TURN UNDO AGREEMENTS REACHED, (MANY AD REFERENDUM), IN SPC. IF DESIRED BY WASHINGTON IT CAN BE MADE IN NAC ON OCTOBER 8. END COMMENT)

5. COUNCIL-AD HOC GROUP RELATIONSHIP. RESULT OF DISCUSSION ON PARAGRAPH 58 (I)(B) WAS COMPROMISE BETWEEN U.S. VIEW THAT ANY THREE OR FOUR ALLIES COULD CALL FOR A PLENARY AND BELGIAN/ DUTCH VIEW THAT ANY ALLY COULD DO SO. NEW LANGUAGE STATES "...PLENARY MEETING WHENEVER ANY ALLY FOR OVERRIDING REASONS

PROPOSES SUCH A REQUEST IN THE AD HOC GROUP AND IS NOT ISOLATED."

6. NEXT STEPS. COUNCIL WILL HAVE FURTHER FINAL MEETING ON THIS DOCUMENT ON MONDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 8. FRG, UK (BECAUSE OF REPEATED USE OF TERM "MANPOWER"), AND FLANK COUNTRY REPS AT SPC WERE VISIBLY UNSURE OF WHETHER THEIR CAPITALS WOULD BACK THEIR AD REFERENDUM COMPROMISES. MISSION THUS CANNOT EXCLUDE POSSIBLE FURTHER DEBATE AT OCTOBER 8 NAC. HOWEVER, IF ALL GOES WELL ON OCTOBER 8, INTERNATIONAL STAFF WILL THEN PRODUCE FINAL TEXT OF CM(73)83, WHICH MISSION WILL TRANSMIT TO ALL ADDRESSEES. RUMSFELD

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